SOME NEW BOOKS.

The Religions of Japan.

It is a timely book which has just been published by the Scribners, and which, under the name of *The Religions of Japan*, embodies the lectures delivered at the Union Theological Seminary by WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D. D., who lived in the Mikado's empire from 1870 to 1874, and was there engaged in organizing a system of public schools. The author gives a concise account of the introduction of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, and of the recent revival of Christian missionary activity. But the chief purpose of this volume is to discuss the three religions, Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism, which, historically and actually, must be regarded as exercising the largest influence upon the Japanese mind. We are cautioned, however, not to conceive of the Japanese votaries of these several religions as sharply distinguished one from the other. In the imperial and constitutional Japan of our day it is pronounced probable that the religion of at least thirty-eight millions of Japanese is no single one of the three religions named, but an amalgam of them all. There is not, in every-day life, that sharp line of demarcation between these forms of belief which the native or foreign scholar makes. The average Japanese learns about the gods and draws inspiration for his patriotism from Shinto, maxims for his ethical life from Confucius, and his hope of what he regards as salvation from Buddhism. Or, as a native scholar, Nobuta Kaishimoto, expresses it: "In Japan these three different systems of religion and morality not only live together on friendly terms with one another, but, in fact, they are blended in the minds of the people, who draw necessary nourishment from all of these sources. One and the same Japanese is a Shintoist, a Confucianist, and a Buddhist. He plays a triple part, so to speak. Our religion may be likened to a triangle. Shintoism furnishes the object, Confucianism offers the rules of life, while Buddhism supplies the way of salvation; so you see we Japanese are eclectic, even in religion."

I.

Were we to ask an educated Japanese what pure Shinto is, he would refer us to the scholar and critic Motoöri, who lived from 1730 to 1801, and who with erudition and acuteness analyzed the ancient literature, and showed what were Chinese or imported elements and what was of native origin. He summarized the principles of the primitive religion, brought to light and interpreted the archaic documents, expounded and defended the old cosmogony and preached anew the doctrines of Shinto. With an extraordinary combination of naïveté and enthusiasm, Motoöri taught that Japan was the first part of the earth created, and that it is, therefore, the land of the gods, the country of the holy spirit. The stars, he said, were created from the muck which fell from the spear of Izanagi as he thrust it into the warm earth, while the other countries were formed by the spontaneous consolidation of the foam of the sea. Morals were invented by the Chinese because they were an immoral people, but in Japan there is no necessity, so Motoöri said, for any system of morals, as every Japanese acts aright if he only consults his own heart. The duty of a good Japanese consists in obeying the Mikado without questioning whether his commands are right or wrong. The Mikado is a god and vicar of all the gods. Hence Government and religion are the same, the Mikado being the centre of Church and State, which are one. It is the author's personal opinion that Shinto in its higher forms is simply a cultured and intellectual atheism; in its lower forms it stands for blind obedience to governmental and priestly dictates. A remark of Ernest Satow's is quoted with approval: "Shinto, as expounded by Motoöri is nothing more than an engine for reducing the people to a condition of mental slavery." It is pronounced needless to dwell upon the tremendous power of Shinto as a political system, especially when wedded to the forces generated in the minds of the educated Japanese by modern Confucianism. The Chinese ethical system, expanded into a philosophy as fascinating as the English materialistic school of our own day, entered Japan contemporaneously with the revival of Shinto and of native learning. At the acme of their renewed vigor in the seventeenth century these two systems began that evolution of national energy which, in the eighteenth century, was consolidated, and which a century later, though unknown and unsuspected by Europeans or Americans, was, in fact, all ready for phenomenal manifestation and tremendous eruption even while Perry's fleet was bearing the olive branch to Japan. It was the coöperation of these internal forces with the exterior agencies of Western civilization which brought about the transformation of the country. Is the revived Shinto, having thus discharged a civilizing function, likely to pass away? Dr. Griffis thinks that, in spite of the conservative power of the ancestral influences, the patriotic incentives, and the easy morals of Shinto, it is doubtful whether, under the pressure of a purified Buddhism, and amid the spread of popular education and Christianity, the primitive indigenous religion can long retain its hold upon the Japanese people. At the same time, the duty is acknowledged of judging every religion not by its shortcomings, but by its aims. The idea of Shinto is to make people pure, clean, and free in all their personal and household arrangements, to help them to live simply, honestly, and with mutual good will; to make the Japanese love their country, honor their imperial house, and obey their Emperor. That Shinto lies at the base of the political structure of Japan seems indisputable. The radical Shintoist to this day believes that all political rights which the Japanese can enjoy must come to them by virtue of the Mikado's grace and benevolence. Indeed, all Japanese, whatever may be their religious views, consider that their constitution depends for its safeguard and its validity largely upon the oath which the Mikado swore at the shrine of his heavenly ancestors that he would himself obey it and preserve its provisions inviolate.

II.

Omitting in this notice any reference to the contact with Christianity in the sixteenth century, a contact renewed in our own day, we may divide the intellectual history of the Japanese into three eras: The period of early insular or purely native thought lasted from before the Christian era until the eighth century, by which time Shinto, or the indigenous system of worship, had been, as a system, relegated from the people at large to a small circle of scholars and archæologists. During the second period from 800 A. D. to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Buddhism furnished to the nation its religion, philosophy, and culture. The third period, from 1630 A. D. until the present time, witnessed a revival of Shinto and the introduction of the developed Confucian philosophy set forth in China by Chu Hi in the twelfth century, which became and still remains the creed of a majority of the educated Japanese. The Confucianism of the last 250 years in Japan is not that of her early centuries. While the Japanese for a thousand years only repeated and recited, talking aloud in intellectual sleep, China was awake and thinking hard. When, in the seventeenth century, after the long feuds and battles of the Japanese middle ages, Confucianism stepped for the second time into the Land of Brave Scholars, it was no longer with the simple rules of conduct and ceremonial of the ancient days, nor was it as the ally of Buddhism. It came like a strong man in panoply to drive Buddhism out, and to defend the intellect of the educated against the wiles of priestcraft. It was a full-blown system of pantheistic rationalism, with a scheme of philosophy that, to the far-Oriental mind, seemed perfect, as a rule both of faith and practice. It came in a form that could be received as religion, for in it morality was not merely touched, but infused with emotion. Nor were the emotions kindled those of the partisan only, but rather also those of the devotee and the martyr. Henceforth Buddhism, with its inventions, its fables, and its endless dogmatism, was for the common people, for women and children, but not for the Samurai. The new Confucianism came to Japan as the system of Chu Hi. Already for three centuries it had held sway over the intellect of China. During the succeeding two centuries and a half it was to dominate the minds of the Samurai, so that the majority of them to-day, even though they may bear the new name Shizoku, are Confucianists, so far as they are anything. Chu Hi is termed by the author of this book the Calvin of Asiatic orthodoxy. We are told that he reverently adopted the criticisms on the Chinese classics made by the brothers Cheng, who taught in the eleventh century, and that, having brought Confucianism into a developed philosophy, he became the greatest teacher of the Asiatic mind in modern times. In Chu Hi's system we appear to have a body of thought which may be called the product of Chinese meditation during a millennium and a half. It is the ethics of Confucius transfused with the mystical elements of Taoism and the speculations of Buddhism. As the common people of China made an amalgam of the three religions, and came to consider them as one, so the Chinese philosophers have, out of these three systems, made one, and chosen to call it Confucianism. The dominant philosophy in Japan to-day is based upon the writings of Chu Hi, and called the system Tei-Shu, which is the Japanese pronunciation of the name of the Cheng brothers and of Chu. It is a medley which Confucius himself could no more recognize than would Jesus recognize the Christianity that cast out devils in his name.

What were the characteristic features of the developed Confucian philosophy, which, imported from China in the seventeenth century, served the Japanese Samurai not only as a scheme of morals, but for such religion as they possessed or professed? According to Dr. Griffis, the system was not agnostic, as many modern and Western writers assert that it is, and as Confucius, probably modifying the old religion, had made the body of his teachings to be agnostic. Indeed, in regard to many things wherein a Christian has faith, modern Confucianism, besides being bitterly polemic and hostile to Buddhism, is pantheistic. Glancing, for an instant, at its political side, we observe that, during the revival of pure Shinto in the eighteenth century, the teachers of that school and those of its great rival, the new Confucianism of Chu Hi, agreed in making loyalty take the place which filial duty had occupied in the old Confucian system. To serve the cause of the Emperor became the paramount duty for those possessed of cultivated minds. The newer Chinese philosophy must have influenced the historian, Rai Sanyo, and those of the Mito school, whose works, now classic, are deemed to have been the principal factors in producing the revolution of 1868. By creating and setting in motion the public opinion which finally overthrew the Shogun-ate and feudalism, which restored the Emperor to supreme power and unified the nation, they coöperated with Western ideas to evolve the Japan of our own day. The Shinto and the new Confucian teaching became enlisted in a common cause, and thus the philosophy of Chu Hi, mingling with the nationalism and patriotism inculcated by the Shintoists, brought about a remarkable result. This is pointed out by a native scholar and philosopher: "It certainly is strange to see the Tokugawa rule much shaken, if not actually overthrown, by the very doctrine which generations of able Shoguns and their Ministers had earnestly encouraged and protected. It is, perhaps, still more remarkable to see the Mito clan, under many capable and active chiefs, become the centre of the Kinno (loyalty to the Mikado) movement, which was to culminate in the overthrow of the Tokugawa family, of which the Mito clan was itself a branch."

We have said that, according to Dr. Griffis, who on this point differs from some students on the subject, the philosophy of modern Confucianism is wholly pantheistic. There is in it, he says, no such thing or being as God. It is admitted that Chu Hi and his Japanese successors argue finely and discourse volubly about Ki or spirit, but it is denied that Ki is spirit or spiritual in the sense of him who taught the woman at the well-curb at Sychar. It is in the air. It is in the earth, the trees, the flowers. It comes to consciousness in man. An extract is made from a treatise of Ohashi Junzo, whose book is termed the swan song of dying Japanese Confucianism: "The doctrine of the sages knows and worships heaven, and without faith in it there is no truth. For men and things, the universe, are born and nourished of heaven, and the Way, the 'ri' that is in all, is the Way, the 'ri' of heaven. Distinguishing root from branch, the heart is the root of heaven, while phenomena such as the revolution of the sun and moon and the order of the stars are the branches. The books of the sages teach us to conform to the heart of heaven, and not to deal with appearances. The teaching of the sages is the original truth, and, once given to men, forms both their nature and their relationship. With it complete, naught else is needed for the perfect following of the way. Let, then, the child make of its parents heaven, the retainer do this with his lord, the wife with her husband, and let each give up life for righteousness." We are told that the preacher addressing an audience made up of educated Japanese, should he speak of God without describing His personality, character, or attributes, wouldfind that his readers received the term as a compendious expression for a bundle of abstract principles, or a system of laws, or some kind of regulated force. They do, indeed, make some reference to a "creator" by using a rare word. But the modern Japanese long ago heard joyfully the words, "Honor the gods, but keep them far from you," and they have obeyed them. To love a god would no more occur to a Japanese gentleman than to have his child embrace and kiss him. Whether the source and fountain of life of which they speak has any connection in their minds with a divine spirit, is pronounced uncertain, but whether it has or has not, man need not obey, much less worship him. The universe is one, the essence is the same. Man must seek to know his place in the universe. He is but one link in an endless chain. Let him find his part and fulfil it; all else is vanity. For him to inquire into origins or ultimates is superfluous. Man is moved by a power greater than himself; he has no real independence of his own. Everything has its rank and place; indeed, its rank and place constitute its sole title to a separate existence. If a man mistakes his place, he is a fool. He deserves punishment. In some paragraphs relating to the ideals of a Samurai we read: "Duty is more important than being. Nearly everything in our life is fixed by fate; there may seem to be exceptions, because some wicked men are prosperous and some righteous men are wretched. But these are not real exceptions to the general rule, that we are made for our environment and fitted to it. Our judgment touching such seeming exceptions may be incorrect. Let the heart, then, be right and all is well. Let man be obedient, and his outward circumstances are nothing, having no relation to his joy or happiness. Even when, as to his earthly body, man passes away, he is not destroyed; the drop again becomes part of the sea, the spark reënters the flame, and his life continues, though it be not a conscious life. In this way man is in harmony with the original principle of all things. He outlasts the universe itself. Hence, to a conscientious Samurai there was nothing in this world better than obedience in the ideal of a true man. What he feared most was that his memory might perish, that he might have no seed, that he might be forgotten, or die under a cloud, and be thought treacherous, or cowardly, or base, when, in reality, his life was pure and his motives were high. "Better," sang Yoshida Shoin, who died a martyr for his principles, "to be a crystal and to be broken, than to be a tile upon the housetop and remain." In untold instances in the national history, men, and women also, have died for others, or for principle, willingly and cheerfully, so that the story of Japanese chivalry is almost incredible for its awful suicides. History reveals a state of society in which the cool determination, desperate courage, and fearlessness of death in the face of duty were unparalleled, and which must have had their basis in some powerful though abnormal code of ethics. It must be admitted on the other hand that neither the new Confucianism nor the revived Shintoism, nor, as we shall see, Buddhism, did much to elevate the position of woman in Japan. It is to the influence of Western ideas that the transformation of woman's status in the Mikado's empire is principally due, though the fact that there were empresses at early stages of Japanese history indicates that under the primitive Shintoism women were subject to fewer disabilities than they have been in most Oriental countries.

III.

In the author's sketch of the doctrinal development of Buddhism in Japan, the point is steadily kept in view that the religious system which entered Japan from Corea in the sixth century was not the simple atheism touched with morality, the bald skepticism or benevolent agnosticism of Gautama, but a religion which was already over a thousand years old. It was the system of the Northern Buddhists. These, dissatisfied or unsatisfied with absorption into a passionless state through self-sacrifice and moral discipline, had evolved a philosophy of religion in which were gods, idols, and an apparatus of conversion utterly unknown to the primitive faith. As, in its course through China, this Northern Buddhism had acted as an all-powerful absorbent of local beliefs and superstitions, so, in Japan, it was destined to have a still more remarkable record, and not only to absorb local ideas, but actually to cause the indigenous religion to disappear. So complete was the victory ultimately won in Japan by Buddhism, that for nearly a thousand years Shinto, considered as a religion, vanished from sight, except in a few isolated spots, and sank into a mere mythology, or the shadow of a mythology. The very knowledge of the ancient traditions was lost in the Buddhaized forms into which the old stories were cast, or in the omnipresent Buddhist ritual. Dr. Griffis considers it a question as to which suffered the more from this amalgamation. About as many corrupt elements from Shinto seem to have entered into the various Buddhist sects as Buddhism gave to Shinto. It is pronounced certain that the vast development of Japanese Buddhism, unknown to the rest of the Buddhist world, scouted by the Southern Buddhists as dreadful heresy and provoking the indignation of students of early Buddhism like Max Müller and Prof. Whitney, is largely due to the attempted digestion of Japanese mythology.

The history of the doctrinal development of Buddhism in Japan is divided into four epochs. The first, extending from 552 to 805 A. D., deals with the first six sects which had for their centre of propagation Nara, the Southern capital. Then follows the spread of the so-called Riyodu, or mixed Buddhism, from the ninth to the twelfth century. This, the period when Shinto was digested, was succeeded by another explosion of doctrine, this time wholly and peculiarly Japanese, and by a wide missionary propagation. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century there is little that is doctrinally noticeable until our own time, when a regeneration of Japanese Buddhism has been attempted. It is significant that, although the Buddhist body of scriptures has several times been imported and printed in Japan, it has never been translated into the vernacular. The Japanese Buddhist canon is made up not simply of writings purporting to be the words of Buddha or of the apostles who were his immediate companions or followers, but, on the contrary, of books written for the most part many centuries after the last of the contemporaries of Gautama had passed away. The most generally studied book of the Japanese canon is the Saddharma Pundarika. According to Prof. Kern, who has translated this work into English, it existed in 250 A. D., and, in its most ancient form, may date back as far as the opening of the Christian era. It is the standard of orthodoxy in Japanese Buddhism.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries constituted the golden age of Japanese Buddhism. In the sixteenth century the feudal system split into fragments, and the normal state of the country was that of civil war. Sect was arrayed against sect, and the bonzes of the Shin sect, forming a great military body, possessed many fortified monasteries. In the first half of the sixteenth century came the tremendous onslaught from Portuguese Christianity. Then followed a régime of militarism and bloody persecutions. In clashing with the new Confucianism of the seventeenth century Buddhism exhibited utter weakness as an intellectual power. Although, through the favor of the Yedo shoguns, it recovered lands and wealth, became the spy, persecutor, and professed extirpator of Christianity, and maintained its popularity among the masses of the people, it was during the eighteenth century, among the educated Japanese, as good as dead. By the restored Government of the Mikado it was politically disestablished, and its landed possessions were sequestrated; its history since 1868 has been marked, first, by depression, and then by temporary revival. There is now a movement discernible, which the author would describe as the New Buddhism. It is democratic, optimistic, empirical, or practical; it welcomes women and children; it is hospitable to science and every form of truth. It evinces little, if any, of the venom of the old Buddhist controversialist. It is represented by earnest writers, who look to natural and spiritual means rather than to external and mechanical methods. Despite, however, its apparent interest in contemporaneous conclusions of science, it has gained no hold upon educated men, or those who long for the moral education and purification of the people.

IV

If it be asked what Buddhism has done for Japan, the answer is that, up to the seventeenth century, it did almost everything. Before Buddhism came, Japan was prehistoric. The statement of Prof. Chamberlain is quoted with approval: "All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands. Buddhism introduced art; introduced medicine; created the folk lore of the country; created its dramatic poetry; deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity; in a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up." Dr. Griffis believes that, in Japanese life, as it existed before the introduction of Buddhim, the grade of culture, although somewhat above the level of savagery, was but little higher than that of the Iroquois Indians in the days of their confederacy. In the train of the first missionaries came artisans and instructors in every line of human industry and achievement, so that the importation of inventions and appliances from the West—the West then being Corea and China, and the far West, India—may be said to have been as general, as far-reaching, as sensational, and as electric in its effects upon Japanese minds as, in our day, has been the introduction of the modern civilization of Europe and the United States. The Buddhist missionaries, in their first enthusiasm of humanity, were not satisfied to serve as guides to artificers and artists, but they themselves became personal leaders in the work of civilizing the country. They constructed roads, dug wells, established ferries, and built bridges. They opened lines of communication and stimulated the exchange of merchandise. They created the commerce between Japan and China, and acted as peacemakers in the wars between the Japanese and the Coreans. For centuries they had the monopoly of high learning. Throughout the dark middle ages, when civil war prevailed, they were the only scholars, clerks, architects, engineers, diplomats, and mediators. Most of the libraries of the country were to be found in monasteries. The temple schools were founded early, and in the course of centuries became at times almost co-extensive with the empire. If the bonzes did not invent the Kana, or common script, it is reasonably certain that they were the chief instruments in the diffusion and popularization of that simple system of writing which made it possible to carry literature down into the homes of the merchant and the peasant. Finally, Buddhism was, for many centuries, the only teacher of pictorial and sculptural art for the multitude. For a thousand years after its introduction, all Japanese, except here and there a stern Shintoist, or an exceptionally dogmatic Confucian, acknowledged the indebtedness of their country to Buddhism. It was not until the modern Confucian philosophy entered the Mikado's empire in the seventeenth century that highly educated men began to denounce the Buddhist faith and declare it fit only for savages.

It is, on the other hand, undeniable that Buddhism left many things undone. Amid its incessant and multifarious activity one might until recently look in vain for the hospital, the orphan asylum, or the asylum for the insane and much less for the vast and complicated system of charities which has been organized in the great cities of Europe and the United States. Buddhism as developed in Japan was kind to the brute, but indifferent, nay, even cruel, to man. If it is not directly responsible for the existence of that class of Japanese pariahs called hi-nin, or not-human, the name and the idea, at all events, are borrowed from the Sutras; while the execration of the Eta, or all who prepare or sell the flesh of animals, is persistently taught in the Buddhist sacred book. The Eta, though, in individual cases becoming measurably rich, were regarded as the filth and offscouring of the earth, because they were butchers, skinners, and leather workers, and were therefore forced to handle dead animals; from them were chosen the executioners and buriers of the dead. Until the fiat of the present Emperor made them citizens, the members of this unfortunate class, although numbering a million, or, as some say, three millions, had no rights which society or the law was bound to respect; they were not reckoned in the census, nor was the land on which they dwelt measured. Even now, although they have been citizens for over a quarter of a century, they suffer more from social discrimination than do the freed slaves of our own country; yet, between them and the other Japanese, there is no color line, but only the streak of moral difference which Buddhism created and has maintained. It would also be hard to discover any benefits conferred by the disciples of Gautama upon the Ainos who are now confined to Yezo. Even in the days when these barbarians were to be found far southward on the main island, no effort was made to convert them by the missionary bonze. It was reserved for Christian aliens to reduce the language of these simple savages to writing and to express in it the ideas of a religion higher than their own.

As regards the influence of Buddhism upon the morals and character of the Japanese, there is much undoubtedly to praise, but there is something also to condemn. It has aided powerfully to educate the people in habits of gentleness and courtesy, but, instead of aspiration and expectancy of improvement, it has given to them the spirit of hopeless resignation which is so characteristic of the Japanese masses. So thoroughly has Buddhism dominated popular literature and daily life and speech, that all the mental procedure and the utterance of the people are cast in the moulds of Buddhist doctrines. The fatalism of the Moslem world, expressed in the idea of Kismet, has its analogue in the Japanese Ingwa, or conception of cause and effect, which furnishes the key to most Japanese novels as well as to the dramas of real life. M. W. H.

English Constitutional History.

It is probable that most American students of the English constitution rely mainly on the well-known book by Sir T. Erskine May. Since the publication of that work, however, so much light has been cast upon certain aspects of the subject that many of his conclusions require modification. An attempt is made to embody the outcome of the latest researches in *A Student's Manual of English Constitutional History*, by DUDLEY JULIUS MEDLEY (Macmillans). Among the multitudinous topics discussed we have singled out the new theory regarding the origin of the English land system, and the amount of the indebtment of the English to the Romanized Britons, the evolution of the Cabinet system, the decay of the royal prerogative, and the gradual effacement of the House of Lords.

I.

According to the hypothesis advocated by Stubbs and Freeman, and until recently generally accepted, the English invaders of Britain wiped away everything Celtic as well as everything Roman as thoroughly as everything Roman was wiped out of North Africa by the Saracen conquerors of the seventh and eighth centuries. There is some doubt as to the thoroughness of the extirpation of Roman civilization in North Africa; but let that pass. For our present purpose it suffices to say that, to the reading of early English history commended by Stubbs and Freeman, the advocates of the continued existence of Romano-Celtic influences give a flat denial. The evidence produced by them goes to rebut the theory of the exceptional character of the English invader of Britain. They deny not only the possibility but the fact of the extermination of the Britons, and assert in a most uncompromising manner the unavoidable intermixture of the Britons and their conquerors, and the consequent far-reaching effect of the Romanized institutions of the former on whatever Teutonic organization was brought in the keels of the invaders. The evidence is drawn from many sources. Of these, the most direct is afforded by the language of the invaders. Instead of the "few Celtic and the still fewer Latin words" which, it has been alleged, "found their way into English from the first days of the conquest," and which formed two very small groups of exceptions to the purely Low Dutch character of the English language, it is now maintained that "hundreds of common words," relating not merely to domestic employments (such as would be transmitted by the female slaves, who alone are generally allowed to have escaped extermination), but even to government, "may still be traced to the limited Anglo-Saxon and Welsh vocabularies;" while rather more than a hundred Latin words, often to be found also in Welsh, prove the abiding influence of the Roman tongue. The retention of Celtic words, also, in relation to "the arts of weaving, boat building, carpentry, and smiths' work," would seem to show that the invaders accepted the teaching of their captives in some of the most skilful occupations. It should further be noticed that the Welsh poets who chronicle the invasions complain that "a race of Romanized Britons, whom they call Loegrians, took part with the invaders against their Celtic kinsmen. Besides this practically direct evidence, it has been argued that a resistance which was sufficiently stubborn to protract the conquest for 150 years would tell in favor of a compromise rather than a wholesale extermination. Christianity did not come to mitigate the fury of the invaders until the conquest was nearly accomplished; but the manner of its introduction into Kent and its immediate success seem to indicate that the ground had been prepared by a continued exercise of the rites of worship in the old Church of St. Martin, which was set aside for the use of Ethelbert's Christian queen. It has even been asserted that Celtic missionaries lent their aid to Augustine and his followers in their labor of conversion. It is well known that the English of Northumbria were converted by Celtic missionaries, but these seem to have come from Ireland. Undoubtedly if continuity can be traced in the language, the religion, and the arts of the days of the Roman occupation, it may well be believed that the Roman organization, both social and political, would not perish. It has been contended that Roman *territoria*, which hypothetically followed the boundaries of the British tribal lands, were presided over by an official called the *comes civitatis*, and that in these are to be found the origin alike of the small kingdoms of the Heptarchic period and ultimately of the English shires, together with that of the Anglo-Saxon ealdorman. This still remains a mere assertion, but some evidence has been adduced in favor of the continued life of lesser organizations, whether the *villa* or private estate, cultivated by a bailiff and servile tenants, or the *municipium* or *colonia*, with its *collegia*, which became the English *burh* with its *gilds*. Under these circumstances it would almost naturally follow that "Roman law has formed the basis of the Saxon family system and of the laws of property," while the only possible conclusion would be with Mr. Pearson that "the Saxon conquest did not break up society; it only added a new element to what it found. The Saxon State was built up on the ruins of the past."

II.

The ripest conclusions regarding the evolution of the English Cabinet system will be read with interest by Americans for the light they throw on the failure of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 to insert a counterpart of it in the Constitution of the United States. The lateness of the recognition, even in England, of the existence of the Cabinet system of government, a system still unknown to the law, is demonstrated by the fact that Burke is the first writer who mentions it. The truth seems to be that, while circumstances had since the revolution of 1688 made the Cabinet the motive power in the Executive of the country, and that it, therefore, and not the full Council, had thenceforth the decisive voice voice in the conduct of affairs, the sovereign long continued to seek means whereby he might retain, at any rate, a veto on the action of unacceptable Ministers. As he tried to influence Parliament itself by the multiplication of places and pensions and by direct bribes to the members, so he strove to keep the Cabinet in order by including among its members devoted personal followers of the King. Thus, from the reign of William III. onward, besides the committees, either permanent or temporary, which did the work now done in the Foreign Office, the Home Office, and the Board of Trade, we find not only the whole Privy Council, which was assembled for formal business, but also a twofold Cabinet: an outer Cabinet including the great officers of the household, such as the Lord Chamberlain and the Master of the Horse and non-political officers of State, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice; and an inner Cabinet which commanded the confidence of the House of Commons, and, therefore, really settled the policy of the country. It is true that, with the accession of the Hanoverians, the King, who could not speak English, disappeared from Cabinet councils, and a First Minister became both necessary and possible. But, as a matter of fact, the withdrawal of the King's personal influence made it seem to be doubly necessary that he should retain an indirect hold over the deliberations of his ministers. Even Sir Robert Walpole, who was, perhaps, the first Prime Minister in any modern sense of the term, could not nominate his own colleagues and was obliged for years to tolerate dissensions in his Cabinet, while the personal interference of George III., exercised in direct and indirect ways alike, completely threw his Minister into the background. The existence of this double Cabinet explains the actions of Ministers of the eighteenth century in repudiating responsibility for measures carried out by Cabinets of which they were members; nor is it less easy to understand how the King, by intriguing with the titular colleagues, was able to maintain his own nominees even in the inner Cabinet, and to thwart the purposes of Ministers. Burke might declaim as he would against the cabal which had been formed "to intercept the favor, protection, and confidence of the Crown, in the passage to its Ministers," the members of which, while not aiming at "the high and responsible offices of the State," were accused of taking delight "in rendering these heads of office thoroughly contemptible and ridiculous." As a matter of fact, it was the King himself, and not, as Burke pretended, a court faction that was to blame.

So long as this personal interference of the Crown lasted the growth of corporate responsibility among the members of the Cabinet was impossible, and it was, in any case, against the interests of the Crown. The ultimate establishment of the principle was due to its compulsory recognition by the sovereign in a few isolated instances. Thus, in 1746, the Pelhams, who were in office, took advantage of the Jacobite rebellion, and, by resigning in a body, forced the King to make William Pitt a minister. In 1763 Pitt himself strengthened this precedent by refusing to take office except in a Cabinet of his own composing, and thus obliged the King to continue the Grenville-Bedford section of the Whigs in power. But the first definite recognition of this corporate responsibility may be said to date from 1782, when the Cabinet led by Lord Rockingham did away for a time with their titular colleagues and the Ministry consisted only of eleven persons, all of whom held high political posts and were cognizant of all measures taken. Even then the system of a double Cabinet was not entirely relinquished. In the Lord Chancellor especially the King attempted to maintain a permanent spy upon the other Ministers. Thus, in 1792, the persistent opposition of Lord Thurlow, who had been Lord Chancellor, with one short interruption, since 1778, forced the younger Pitt to offer the King an alternative between his own resignation and that of the Chancellor. The first formation of a principle abrogating the merely titular Cabinet was made in 1801, when Pitt's Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, claimed to remain, though without office, in the Cabinet of his successor. Addington met his pretensions with a statement that "the number of Cabinet Ministers should not exceed that of the persons whose responsible situations in office require them to be members of it."

The difficulty, however, of constituting cabinet government in its present form lay not only in the King's desire to make the Ministers feel his power, but also in the extreme reluctance of the Ministers to submit themselves to the overshadowing authority of a Prime Minister. Walpole himself definitely repudiated the title, and in 1806, when objection was made to the appointment of Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to a seat in the Cabinet, on the ground that he might be at once prosecutor together with the rest of the Cabinet, and Judge, the other Ministers refused to accept this plainly stated doctrine of mutual responsibility. It was only with the abatement of corruption and the formation of strong parties over the question of parliamentary reform that cabinet government as we know it can be said to have been fully attained. The result is that the general direction of the policy of the country is, at any given moment, in the hands of a body of men who are individually the heads of the chief departments of the executive government, and collectively the nominees of one of their number, the Prime Minister, who commands the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons, and with whom, no matter how successful their individual administration, they stand or fall. Thus, while, on the one side, the method by which the Cabinet is formed insures unanimity in its advice to the Crown and secrecy in its deliberations, on the other side, its individual members, as heads of departments, have direct communication with the sovereign, whose concurrence, moreover, is necessary for their dismissal. The restraining power exercised upon the Crown differs, no doubt, with the influence of each Prime Minister, who, however, in any case, can force the King's hand by submitting the alternative of his own resignation. With the final extinction of the double Cabinet, too, the attitude of the Crown toward its Ministers has been defined, and it has become an accepted principle that the King must neither take advice from others than the Cabinet, nor act without their concurrence, nor refuse his support so long as the Ministers retain the confidence of the people. For although the legal responsibility of each Minister can only be enforced through his position of Privy Councillor, the Cabinet is not the Privy Council. The latter body consists of no less than three sets of members, namely, the Cabinet for the time being and members of former Cabinets; the holders of great offices of State unconnected with politics; and eminent men on whom the rank is conferred as a compliment. Thus, only in a very general sense can the Cabinet be called even a committee of the Privy Council; for it is, as we have said, unknown to law, its numbers and qualifying offices are indeterminate, and of its deliberations no record is preserved.

III.

What is there left of the royal prerogative in England? This subject is discussed in the second and sixth chapters of this volume. Omitting all that was lost by the revolution of 1688, we note that among the methods which William III. employed to keep the executive authority in his own hand was the right of placing a veto on bills that had been accepted by both Houses of Parliament. His use of the veto on no less than four occasions exceeded any previous example, nor did after events make it less unique; his successors devised new means of influencing Parliament, though, except indirectly, they dared not oppose the constitutionally expressed wishes of the nation. Thus, with the single exception of a Scotch Militia bill vetoed by Queen Anne in 1707, the Crown's veto power has not been used in the British Isles for nearly two hundred years. Mr. Medley overlooks the letter of George III. to Lord North, in which the King expressly declined to acknowledge that his right to veto bills had lapsed by non-user. The right of the Crown to veto the acts of colonial legislatures has certainly not lapsed, although of late years it has been sparingly exercised. Of the old prerogative power of summoning Parliament nothing has been left to the Crown. Far otherwise has it been with the sovereign's power of deciding when Parliament shall be dissolved. A dissolution of Parliament has been described by Dicey as an appeal from the legal to the political sovereign, from the Ministry and Parliament of the day to the constituencies which exercise the rights of the people. There is no doubt that, in the early years of George III., during his struggle with the Whig oligarchy, the King used the power of dissolution as a threat. But as soon as the system of administration by a homogeneous Cabinet was established, the dissolution became simply a means of ascertaining whether the Ministry in power commanded the confidence of the people, and the King was justified in exercising his prerogative only when he had reason to believe that the original harmony between Parliament and people had been broken. The experience of France has shown that, where an Executive lacks the power of dissolving Parliament on his own motion, or on the advice of his Prime Minister, the popular branch of the Legislature tends, under the system of Parliamentary government, to become omnipotent.

As we have seen, the prerogative for which the King fought most strenuously was the power to choose his Ministers. Even after he had been compelled to relinquish the system of an inner and outer Cabinet and the practice of keeping one royal spy in the person of the Lord Chancellor, he strove for the option of accepting or rejecting the nominees of the dominant party. Thus George III., by the demand of certain pledges, drove the Ministry of All the Talents to resignation in 1807. The dismissal of Lord Melbourne in favor of Sir Robert Peel by William IV. in 1834 was another assertion of this prerogative. In 1839 Peel, though possessing the confidence of the country, was unable to assume power because the Queen refused to part with the ladies of the bedchamber who were near relatives of the outgoing ministry. The elections of 1841, however, went strongly in favor of Sir Robert Peel, so that a compromise was arrived at, and the Tories came into office. But, although the Crown has lost the power of designating the party which, through its representatives, shall take office, there are conjunctures when the personal decision of the Crown may play an important rôle. In the absence, for instance, of any one definite head of the dominant party, it becomes incumbent on the sovereign to choose between the rival candidates for leadership. The choice is seldom wisely made. Queen Victoria made a mistake when she summoned Lord Hartington to form a Liberal Cabinet in 1880, and she seems to have made another blunder when she invited Lord Rosebery to become Prime Minister. As to the part which the Crown may play in the conduct of administration, it is true that the right of the sovereign to be consulted in advance was asserted when Lord Palmerston was dismissed from the Foreign Office in 1851, but the author of this book neglects to mention that when Lord Palmerston returned to power it was without any formal acknowledgment of the duty of consulting the sovereign with regard to projected acts of foreign or home policy. The controversy had really been between Prince Albert and Palmerston, and the latter remained the victor.

IV.

The relations of the Commons to the Lords will be found set forth in the third and fifth chapters. The first step in the ultimate monopoly exercised by the Commons in all matters relating to taxation was taken in 1407, when the claim of an exclusive right to initiate grants of revenue was recognized. But, although the coördinate right of initiation was thus lost, the Lords still asserted the power of interfering with money bills by amendment or rejection. The right of amendment by the Lords was denied by the Commons in 1671, and the denial was made good seven years later. But the Lords still retained the power of altogether rejecting a money bill. This power, however, remained in abeyance until 1860, when it was exercised upon a bill for the repeal of the paper duties which formed part of the financial arrangements assented to by the Commons for the ensuing year. Since then the Commons have included all the proposed financial measures in one bill; and, as amendment is admitted to be out of the question, the Lords have been constrained to accept the whole proposal, the only alternative being a rejection, upon which they are not prepared to venture. The Commons have also in several ways restricted the judicial power of the House of Lords. Up to the present time, however, the Lords have successfully asserted a coördinate power of legislating upon all matters except money bills, although, when the people have definitely pronounced in favor of a particular measure, the Lords have hitherto given way. Mr. Medley makes only the most cursory allusion to the abolition of the House of Lords by a resolution of the House of Commons in the Long Parliament in 1649.

V.

It has been said that there is scarcely any legislative innovation conceivable for which a precedent cannot be found in the history of the English House of Commons. The precedents for the payment of members are discussed on pages 179-180 of the book before us. During the middle ages the Sheriffs, to whom the writs for the elections were almost always addressed, found it hard to execute them in many boroughs, by reason of the extreme unwillingness of persons to become candidates for Parliament. The cause of this reluctance is evident. The summons to Parliament was equivalent to a demand for a grant of taxes, and every one would be unwilling to face the reproaches of his neighbors for what might be considered undue compliance with the royal demand. When to this risk of incurring popular odium were added the terrors of a distant journey and the inconvenience of absence from a farm or a business, we can understand why, in the words of Dr. Stubbs, "the office of representative was not coveted, and we can imagine cases in which the Sheriff would have to nominate and compel the service of an unwilling member." Nor were the constituencies on their part any more eager to be represented, for the members were entitled for their services to wages, at the rate of four shillings a day for the knights of shires and two shillings for the burgesses during the parliamentary session, and to a sum for journey money of an amount usually determined in the assembly which elected them. The payment of wages became a settled custom as early as the reign of Edward II.; the sum due was collected by the Sheriff of all those entitled to vote in satisfaction of a royal writ which was issued to every member on the last day of the session. The right, then, to the receipt of wages rested on the common law, but the payment of a fixed sum, though usual, was not compulsory. Thus at Cambridge, in 1427, the constituents bargained with their members to take less than the normal wages. But, under Henry VIII., the usual rate was made a matter of legislative grant in the case of the newly enfranchised shires and boroughs of Monmouth and Wales. It was not long, however, before electors took advantage of the increased importance of a seat in Parliament to agree with candidates at election that they would serve for nothing. The custom of giving wages, therefore, gradually died away, although, in isolated cases, payment was demanded and obtained. The last known instance is in 1681, when the Chancellor, Lord Nottingham, gave judgment in favor of a member for Harwich, who sued his constituents for his wages. Mr. Medley omits to mention that more than a century later the opinion was expressed by a high legal authority that, if a member applied for a writ requiring his constituents to pay him for his services, it could not be denied. At all events, the payment of members of the English Parliament must be described, not as a novelty, but as a lapsed constitutional right; and consequently, when it was moved in the House of Commons in 1870 "to restore the ancient constitutional practice of payment of members," the form of the motion was strictly correct.

NOTES ON SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY.

In some of the English factories an ingenious form of humidifying apparatus of the absorption type is being introduced with satisfactory results. It consists of a cylindrical vessel, into which the air is drawn by the suction of a fan placed beyond it; in this chamber the air can be heated by steam as it passes through, and the hot or cold air, when taken from this chamber, is discharged by a pipe passing down the centre of a cylindrical vessel. The pipe discharges a little above the bottom of the vessel, in which is always kept a certain depth of water, regulated by means of a ball tap; in the upper part of this vessel the discharge pipe leaves, and is conveyed through the room which is being treated. In this pipe are placed the requisite number of discharging orifices, in each of which a small distributer is placed, the distributer being given a rotary movement by the passage of the air so as to eject it in all directions—an arrangement by which the air, whether heated or not, is sent with great force into the water, producing in it a considerable disturbance, being practically passed through it. The result is that the air is charged with moisture very thoroughly, and when it leaves the vessel it contains a mixture of air and vapor in an intimate condition; the height of the second vessel is such that no drops of water can be carried over. There is a slight deposition of water not absorbed by the air, but this takes place in the conveying tubes, and the water does not come through the distributers.

The most recent device for sinking shafts through water-bearing strata—a French invention—consists of a method by which the pressure within the freezing tubes is lower than that outside, this being secured by the employment of anhydrous ammonia, which is used directly in the tubes. The ammonia gas is compressed until it assumes a liquid state, as in the regular ammonia compression refrigerating machines, and is then injected into the freezing tube system, where it evaporates and abstracts heat from the surrounding material, the pressure of the ammonia gas being always lower than that of the outside. The tendency of the liquid, when injected into the freezing tubes, would naturally be to drop at once to the bottom and collect there—in such case the evaporation being comparatively slow, and the freezing process correspondingly inefficient; but this is prevented by making the inner tube in the form of a worm, closed at its lower end, and punctured along its whole length with a number of minute holes, through which the liquid ammonia escapes in small quantities, and is rapidly vaporized, and thus, by suitably arranging these escaping devices, the freezing action may be concentrated at any depth along the line of the tubes, the operation of the system consequently adapting itself effectively to strata which is soft at the bottom of a shaft, or where it is flooded by water.

Among the mechanisms of utility lately described is a small instrument which shows the number of revolutions of a shaft by means of two hands traversing a dial similar to that of a watch, the longer hand indicating the units and tens of revolution and the smaller the hundreds. In order to make error in reading impossible, whether the shaft be running in one direction or the other, a simple method is resorted to, which consists in placing the dial plate carrying the numbers under a perforated plate, the numbers on the dial showing through the perforations. There are two sets of numbers on the dial plate, one set reading from right to left and the other from left to right, so that, should the shaft move from right to left, the figures on the dial move automatically so as to come under the perforations, while if the shaft move in the other direction the other set of figures shows through the perforations. After reading the number of revolutions, the hands can be quickly brought to zero by opening the case and turning a small knob. The spindle of the revolution counter is protected by the watch ring, so that the instrument can be carried in the pocket, as in the case of a watch, without injury to the clothing, this portability and the extreme simplicity of the operation of the instrument constituting its special advantages.

Considerable interest has been aroused among geologists by the statement made in a German paper by J. J. Jahn that in his study of the silurian rocks of Bohemia he found in a dolomite of the Pridoli Valley that the hollow portions of certain fossils often contained a sort of nucleus of little lumps of anthracite or drops of petroleum—sometimes both substances—while the rest of the drusy hollow was taken up by calcite or dolomite crystals. The same occurrence, he remarks, is noticeable in the limestones near Stolba, and not only are the anthracite lumps and petroleum found in immediate connection with the fossils, but they occur, as well as mineral wax, disseminated in the midst of the rock itself—these substances, whether in intimate connection with marine shells or apart from them, being evidently the result of the decomposition of animal organisms which, ages ago, were buried in the calcareous mud of the silurian sea. These observations by Jahn are said to confirm Prof. Enger's opinion, who attributes the origin of petroleum to animal organic remains, and has succeeded in artificially producing that substance and its by-products from animal matter. It seems, too, that the conditions of temperature and pressure which Enger found necessary in his experimental manufacture of petroleum probably obtain in nature as a result of the crumpling and crushing of the earth's crust and of the eruptions of igneous rock which not seldom accompany these phenomena. It also appears that the Stolba limestones become more dolomitized as they approach the neighboring eruptive rock.

An elaborate account is given in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* of Spring's remarkable researches in the welding of metallic bodies by simple pressure at temperatures far below their fusing point. The metals were put in the shape of cylinders bounded by plane surfaces, great care being taken as to their purity, and having been mounted in a stirrup and pressed together by means of a hand screw, they were placed in a heating oven and kept at a constant temperature between 200° and 400° for from three to twelve hours. The most perfect joints were produced with gold, lead, and tin, and the worst with bismuth and antimony. Two cylinders thus welded together could be put in a lathe, one of them only being held in the chuck, while the other was being worked upon by a cutting tool, without coming apart; they could be separated with the aid of pincers, but then a rough breakage was produced which did not coincide with the original plane of separation. It appeared that the more crystalline the bodies the less do they exhibit this phenomenon of incipient liquefaction, which begins to show in the case of platinum, for instance, at 1,600° below its fusing point; and that such a liquefaction or softening actually takes place was proved by cutting a delicate spiral 0.2 mm. deep on the end surface of a piece of copper weighing 130 grams, and placing it upon a sheet of mica; after keeping it at 400° for eight hours the spiral had entirely disappeared.

By means of an improvement just brought forward by a foreign inventor it is made possible to print various colored designs on calico, or on other textile material, with a smaller number of engraved rollers than heretofore, but with equally satisfactory or better effects. This new plan consists in the employment of an ordinary calico printing roller, on which is engraved the groundwork of the subject to be printed, the shadings and shadows being likewise produced on this roller by stippling or line engraving, thus forming a complete design in itself, and which can be printed as a single-color pattern. This engraved roller serves to print the outline, and also the ground shades and shadows of the subject, at one impression, leaving the various colors and tints which it is desired to give the subject to be applied by a separate roller for each color, these latter having the same tone as that produced by tints that have been repeatedly applied, one above another, by a number of rollers, in order to give greater prominence—or less—to certain portions of the design to insure the requisite shade. This method has been successfully carried out in the case of block printing.

As the result of prolonged experiments, Konigswarter and Ebell, as reported in a foreign journal, have originated an improved process for the bleaching of straw, wood, and similar fibres. To 100 litres of soft, cold water, 1,600 grams of pure crystallized oxalic acid are added, and then 1,000 grams of peroxide of sodium are slowly stirred in; the liquor, when this is done, will still be acid, and requires to be made feebly alkaline with silicate of soda or with more peroxide. The stuff to be bleached—in a clean state and free from grease—is put into the alkaline bath of the mixture, and thus kept until bleached at a temperature of from 90° to 100° F., when it is rinsed and freed from any traces of yellow in a weak acid bath, such as tartaric, or by slow drying in the open air. Such a bath as the above may be used over and over again, and to save time may be made stronger. An economy may also be effected by substituting sulphuric for oxalic acid.

A recent improvement in galvanic bronzing made by M. Mandit of Caen, is claimed by him to be not only more simple than the ordinary process, but capable also of giving every tone, from that of Barbedian bronze to antique green, according to the length of time that the copper is allowed to remain in contact with the liquid. After the piece has been well scoured, it is covered by means of a brush with a mixture composed of twenty parts of castor oil, eighty of alcohol, forty of soft soap, and forty of water. Thus treated, the piece left to itself for twenty-four hours, becomes bronzed, and if the duration of the contact be prolonged the tone changes—a very great variety of tones, pleasing to the eye, being obtainable by this means. The drying is finally effected with hot sawdust, the only remaining operation being then that of coating the piece with a colorless varnish, largely diluted with alcohol, in order to obtain a perfectly satisfactory result. M. Mandit lays great stress on the peculiar simplicity characterizing this new method.